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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

The study focused on the broad problem of analyzing the processes of adjustment of a sample of students to the new interracial situation as it developed in usual school routines and activities. The survey included junior and senior high school students in Washington, D.C.

The procedure used was a series of questions on the informant's own experiences in mixed racial situations and on his feelings about these experiences. Only a minor emphasis was placed on reactions to situations involving members of both races in which the informant was not directly involved as a participant. The two schools were selected because of their accessibility within the limitations of a pilot project and the proportion of the two races represented in the schools.

Responses to the questionnaires indicated that many students had anticipated desegregation with misgiving. It was also noted that students felt uncomfortable in changing from racially segregated environments to desegregated ones. In the first stages of desegregation, interaction between the races was characterized by formality, constraint, and withdrawal into one's own racial group. The data relating to school activities indicated that the desegregation experience could negatively affect scholastic performance and participation in school affairs in many instances. Data, too, showed that desegregation had very little to do with the emergence of large numbers of new behavioral problems. Generally speaking, the majority of white students reported that they were less satisfied attending a desegregated school than they had been at a segregated one. On the other hand, more than half the Negro students claimed to be more satisfied in the desegregated situation than in the segregated one.

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RACIAL INTEGRATION AND THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN

PROGRESS REPORT FOR THE PERIOD
JUNE 1955 - JANUARY 1956

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PROGRESS REPORT FOR THE PERIOD JUNE 1955--JANUARY 1956

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RACIAL INTEGRATION AND THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN

Principal Investigators:

Robert T. Bower, Director
Bureau of Social Science Research
The American University

Henry J. Walker, Professor of Sociology
Howard University

Research Associate:

Harold Mendelsohn, Research Associate
Bureau of Social Science Research
The American University

February 1, 1956

SUMMARY

Since the study population was of an exploratory nature, a considerable amount of the research effort went into developing methodologies and instruments which would yield fruitful insights into some of the dynamics of experiencing racial desegregation by students and their relationships to social adjustment in public schools.

Observations based on the analysis of intensive interviews with 100 students attending Roosevelt High School and Maryland Junior High School in Washington, D. C. indicate the following:

1. The anticipation of desegregation is accompanied by anxiety.

2. Experience with desegregation can produce feelings of discomfort in the school situation.

3. Integration does not necessarily follow desegregation immediately. In the first phases of desegregation patterns of avoidance and withdrawal characterize contacts between Negroes and whites.

4. Experience with desegregation can affect academic performance and participation in school affairs. It appears to affect social status as well.

5. The emergence of serious behavioral problems that are directly related to the desegregation experience appears to be rare.

6. The desegregation experience can lower student morale so that dissatisfaction with school generally is felt.

STATEMENT OF PROGRESS

Method, Procedure and Sample

According to the plan of study contained in the original proposal, it was contemplated that the research would be focussed upon certain aspects of serious maladjustment of students occasioned by or aggravated by the new situation resulting from public school desegregation. However, as the study developed it became increasingly clear that the number of severe cases of maladjustment would be relatively small. Consequently, it was decided to shift the focus of the study away from this limited problem to the broader problem of analyzing the processes of adjustment of a sample of students to the new interracial situation as it developed in normal and usual school routine and activities. Thus, modification of the original plan of the study, which at some points was rather extensive, took place in the initial phases of the study, particularly in developing the schedule which was used as an interview guide. The pretesting of this schedule also suggested some new lines of approach.

The early stages of exploration and development of the research instrument involved consultation with members of the study's Advisory Committee, who made helpful suggestions regarding the kind of items to be included in the schedule. After a preliminary schedule was developed, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Associate Director, Northside Center for Child Development (New York), and Dr. Eugene Hartley, Professor of Psychology, College of the City of New York, in conference with the directors of the project, carefully reviewed the schedule as to the nature, quality, and organization of items to be included. Appraisals as to their effectiveness in eliciting information from students at the junior high and high school levels were also made during

these conferences. Important in the process of constructing the instrument was the utilization of materials, including types of items employed in related studies (e.g., social distance items, authoritarianism items, emotional adjustment items)

Quite early in the development of the schedule the decision was made to design questions which would get at the informant's own experiences in mixed racial situations and uncover his feelings about those experiences. Only a minor emphasis was placed upon questions to situations involving members of both races in which the informant was not directly involved as a participant.

The schedule was pretested at the racially mixed Columbia Heights Boys Club which had among its members a number of students from high schools which had been recently desegregated. The schedule was revised (in some parts quite drastically) as a result of this pretest to include items on the following: (See Appendix A)

1. Participation in formal and informal social activities in school and outside school.
2. Group membership; how group is ordered; and reactions to reference group pressures, reputation.
3. Introversion-extroversion.
4. Ethnocentrism
5. Social distance
6. Emotional adjustment; self-image; adjustment to parents, peers, teachers.
7. Anticipation of desegregation; reactions to desegregation; effects of desegregation on social participation, scholastic performance, and morale.
8. Social characteristics (e.g., age, race, religion, socio-economic status)

Because this study is a pilot project the consultants and directors of the project were agreed that the investigation should be intensive rather than extensive in the coverage of students. This, it was thought, would lead to the identification of problem areas and to the development of hypotheses for further research. Consequently, the instrument which was finally developed was quite lengthy. Partly because the interviews were so long we abandoned the original plan of conducting interviews during study periods in the junior and senior high schools. Although preliminary contact with the school officials had been made with the thought of working within the schools, these visits were not carried through. Instead, interviews were conducted with students on their own time, in their own homes.

Two schools, a junior high school and a senior high school, were selected as study points on the basis of (1) accessibility within the limitations of a pilot project, and (2) the proportion of the two races represented in the schools. In regard to the latter, we decided to use schools about evenly divided in enrollment according to race and which had both white and Negro teachers. The two schools selected were McFarland Junior High School and Roosevelt High School, the boundaries of which are co-terminous.

On the basis of a random selection of city blocks within the school district, interviewers were assigned to specific blocks and instructed to locate students residing in the assigned blocks. From students who were initially located, names of other students were acquired, and from these additional informants were selected. To date, a total of over one hundred students have been intensively interviewed. This is in accord with an ultimate goal of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty interviews which had been previously set.

This procedure, while not yielding a rehoundably precise, was thought adequate for the purpose of early exploration.

Before presenting some of the findings of this study, it is necessary to point out that thus far it is possible to make only cursory observations on the basis of a very small number of the data which are still in the process of being collected. Therefore, the discussion that follows cannot be taken to represent conclusions, but rather, it represents a few hypotheses which have emerged.[1]

Also with so few interviews completed, we have not made exhaustive cross-tabulations. Thus, for example, we have not made systematic comparisons of "marginal" or unsuccessful Negro students with those who have been successful for highlighting some of the conclusions made in this report.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the materials to be presented here have been gathered from pupils attending one senior high school in the City of Washington, D.C. This school has an approximate equal proportion of white and Negro in the student body and serves a predominantly middle socio-economic stratum of that city. Thus, most of our data pertain to the experiences of pupils attending this particular type of school. Without comparative data on the experiences of pupils at other types of schools, it is impossible to assess the generalizability of the findings at this time.

The tentative findings, together with indications of specific problems for further analysis and research, are presented in the light of these limitations.

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[1] These observations are based primarily on the preliminary interviews that have been completed thus far.

Observations

1. Desegregation is Anticipated with Misgivings.

It is indicated by the data that there was apprehension regarding desegregation among the largest single group of White students who have been interviewed (33 of the total 70). White students reared in the atmosphere of Washington, D. C. did not contemplate desegregation as a positive thing. These students felt that the change in status quo regarding race relations in the schools could only mean difficulty for them - difficulty in maintaining their status in the social structure of the school, difficulty in adjusting to Negro students, difficulty in maintaining the prestige of their school as one with "high" educational standards.

The following responses are illustrative:

> Did you expect that going to a mixed school would be different from going to a segregated school?
>
> I didn't know when I first read about it--- As I said, I knew the standards would be lowered. I mean not only academic, but also social, and prestige of the school, the whole social aspect. The total picture lowered.
>
> Female, 12th grade

> What was said in your discussions about going to a desegregated school?
>
> None of us liked it. We thought there would be trouble when they (Negroes) came. Had to eat with them. We knew they were going to try to take over---they always do.
>
> Male, 8th grade

On the other hand, the largest single group of Negro students (12 of the total 30) viewed desegregation in terms of the new opportunities it afforded them in bettering their educations and in broadening their social experiences. To a number of Negro respondents desegregation spelled both an opportunity and a challenge.

Although, the majority of the Negroes expressed positive feelings regarding anticipation of desegregation, the presence of heavy overtones of anxiety and apprehension voiced by those who said they disliked the idea of going to a desegregated school suggest that the full story is not apparent from the small number of cases interviewed. (Nine of the 30 Negro students said they disliked the idea or felt "nervous" when they first heard they would be attending desegregated schools).

For example:

> Did you expect that going to a mixed school would be different from going to a segregated school?
>
> Yes.
>
> In what ways did you expect it to be different?
>
> Well, I didn't think that we would be accepted. I just didn't think people would be friendly. . . I didn't think the work would be any different, though.
>
> Female, 11th grade.

> In thinking back to when you first learned that you would be going to a desegregated school, how did you feel about it then?
>
> I disliked the idea.
>
> I didn't think I'd like it. I didn't think I'd have as much fun with white children as with colored, and I didn't think I'd make as good grades as I did in colored school.
>
> Female, 10th grade.

It is probable that some Negroes cannot bring themselves to express anti-desegregation attitudes or attitudes that reflect anti-desegregation stands and therefore feel obligated to "like" the "idea" of desegregation despite their own personal misgivings. This tendency to view everything concerned with desegregation as an abstraction and in almost euphemistic terms will be apparent throughout the materials we present.

At this stage of the study a full understanding of this phenomenon must await further analysis.

As one might expect, feelings regarding the anticipation of the desegregation experience did not exist in isolation with the students alone. They had social roots in the respondents' primary groups, and no doubt served as re-enforcing factors for the children about to experience desegregation. For instance, 26 of the 70 white students indicated that their parents disliked the idea of their going to a desegregated school, and 49 of the 70 replied that their friends had such feelings. In contrast, the majority of the Negro students (17 of 30) reported that their parents anticipated their attendance at a desegregated institution with favor. Again, a third of the Negroes interviewed (the largest single group) recalled that their friends liked the idea of going to a desegregated school.

It then appears that the students brought a backlog of sentiments derived from family and friends to the new desegregated situation, and one can assume that this backlog of sentiment played an important part in the adjustment of the children to the desegregated situation in school.

2. Experience with Desegregation and Feelings of Discomfort.

Much of the apprehension manifested by white students before experiencing desegregation was maintained within the desegregated situation. More than four of every ten white students voiced an increase in feelings of "discomfort" in changing from racially segregated environment to one that was desegregated.

Although it was difficult for those who said they felt ill-at-ease in the desegregated situation to provide specific reasons for their feelings, their comments do indicate that much of the feeling of discomfort appeared to be

related to a very much generalized anxiety about Negro-White relationships.

These extracts are illustrative:

> Now that you have been going to a desegregated school: Do you feel generally more comfortable, less comfortable, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?
>
> Less comfortable.
>
> Why is that?
>
> I am not sure. They always make you scared of them. Kind of how they talk. Some of the boys carry knives.
>
> Female, 8th grade.

> Now that you have been going to a desegregated school: Do you feel generally more comfortable, less, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?
>
> Less comfortable, but there is nothing you can do about it, so I try to feel as good as possible. I just don't like going to school with them.
>
> Female, 10th grade.

> Now that you have been going to a desegregated school: Do you feel generally more comfortable, less, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?
>
> Less comfortable.
>
> Why is that?
>
> Because you have to watch what you say. When you are talking about somebody, you have to watch there are none (Negroes) near.
>
> Male, 10th grade.

Although one might expect Negro students to manifest discomfort to the same degree as the White students, the data indicated otherwise. Twenty-two of the thirty Negroes interviewed claimed that they felt as comfortable in the desegregated school as they did in the all-Negro schools.

Here again we have the fearing that Negro students cannot bring themselves to reflect negatively on desegregation - even on the emotional-personal level.

If this is the case, Negroes may have so internalized the "rightness" of desegregation as a social principle as to facilitate their adjustment to desegregated conditions to a much greater degree than the white students who have come to accept the "negativeness" of desegregation as a social principle. It is hoped that future research on this problem will shed more light on the dynamics in operation here.

The feelings of discomfort on the part of white students, mentioned above, were at first assumed to be related to racial prejudice (as measured by social distance scores). However, the social distance scores of the students voicing an increase in feeling of discomfort indicated that racial prejudice might have very little to do with these feelings directly. Thus, among the 32 white students who claimed to be less comfortable in desegregated school than they were in the segregated situation:

6 were scored as 'very high' on social distance attitudes

7 were scored as 'high' on social distance attitudes

9 were scored as 'moderate' on social distance attitudes

7 were scored as 'low' on social distance attitudes

1 did not manifest any social distance attitudes.

In studying the data thus far collected, it appears that potential or actual social interaction on the behavioral level rather than feelings about such interaction on the attitudinal level (as in the case of social distance attitudes) was related to the anxieties expressed by the students voicing discomfort. That is to say, white students who expressed discomfort regarding attendance at a desegregated school derived the discomfort from the expectation of social interaction or from actual social interaction with Negroes.

Pointing up this observation is the fact that more than half (18 of the 32)

of the students expressing discomfort also indicated that they did not feel as "free and easy" in their contacts with Negroes as they usually did in their contacts with other individuals (Q. 38).

The fact that eight out of every ten white students who manifested discomfort reported that they had never done anything social with Negroes (Q.39) implies that uneasiness regarding social interaction across racial lines stems in part from lack of experience in such relationships. At this point one can speculate that "not knowing how to behave" with Negroes would certainly engender anxiety during the period when old guidelines for inter-racial behavior were being challenged by a new situation that called for some degree of inter-racial interaction in the common school situation. It appears pertinent to observe that the desegregated situation in its early stages does not provide new guidelines for interracial interaction, while old guidelines come under serious challenge by school regulations. For many white students experiencing desegregation for the first time, this situation makes for ill-at-ease feelings, discomfort, and anxiety.

3. Desegregation - Not Integration

If racial integration is regarded as meaning the incorporation of members of different races into the common activities of formal and informal groups, it is clear from our interviews that such integration does not necessarily immediately follow the formal removal of racial restrictions in public education. To the contrary, the data indicate that during the first stages of desegregation interaction between the races is characterized by formality, constraint, and withdrawal into one's own racial group.

They (Negroes) seem so different, I don't have any personal desire to become friendly with them. I'll be civil, but that's all

Female, 11th grade, white

It's hard to talk to the colored. You've got to watch what you say, and still you say something that's bad about them. It was better than before it was mixed.

Male, 12th grade, white

The differences in the standards are so great, and then, too, no social activities can be had. I don't believe they should mix. Both races would feel far happier with their own people.

Female, 12th grade, white.

The majority are white and they sort of control things but I feel that after I have been in a while I can influence other colored to come in and inspire better relationships.

Male, 10th grade, Negro

We said we'd stick together and not have much to do with them (Negroes). School business was as far as it would go.

Female, 11th grade, white

We feel that if enough of us go to the school, it doesn't matter if they (white students) don't associate with us. They're mostly because we still have a lot of friends in (predominantly) colored schools, and our social life isn't centered around our school.

Female, 10th grade, Negro.

We don't have any fraternities. We can't have dances. They cut out a lot of our social life. If we have a talent show, we have to have it equally balanced between White and Negro.

Parents keep us from having dances in school because they don't understand.

Why?

They don't understand that it makes no difference to us really. And also some of the teachers are afraid of them.

Of whom?

The Negroes.[2]

Female, 12th grade, white

Although all but one of the white students interviewed said that they had talked with Negroes their own age during the months preceding the interview (Q. 37), 57 of the 70 white students characterized these individuals as being 'just persons to speak to', 9 characterized them as good friends, and one listed his contact as a 'best' friend. Furthermore, when asked whether they had ever done anything social with a Negro, 54 of the 70 white students replied in the negative.

These answers indicate that the inter-racial contacts resulting from desegregation remain on the formal level in the early stages, and are characterized by avoidance patterns which may very well become the accepted modus operandi governing relationships across racial lines in such desegregated schools.

Needless to say, a modus operandi which does not allow for mutual participation between the races on an informal level may have the effect of re-enforcing pre-existing conditions of tension and may serve to develop new ones.

4. The Impacts of Desegregation on Various Phases of Social Life.

The data relating to school activities indicate that the desegregation experience can negatively affect scholastic performance and participation in school affairs in many instances.

2/ At the school attended by these respondents, the 'avoidance' behavior patterns reflected in these responses have been aggravated and almost given official sanction by the establishment of official bans on all social activities in the school which might result in informal interracial social interaction (e.g. school dances and proms, social clubs, dramatics, etc.) Interest clubs, publications, athletic teams, service organizations, etc. have been maintained, and function on a desegregated basis.

For example, four out of ten white students reported that their scholastic performance was lower in desegregated school than it had been in segregated schools. Three out of every ten Negro students felt that their scholastic performance declined as a result of being in a desegregated school (Q. 27). White students generally tended to hold desegregation and the presence of Negroes as being responsible for the lowering of their scholastic performance. This is illustrated in the following comments of students:

> How are you getting along with your school work this year as compared to last year? Are you doing better, worse, or about the same?
>
> Worse.
>
> How do you explain that?
>
> Because of the Niggers in the school. They are always messing around. They are always hollering. I don't know if it happens in all the rooms.
>
> How does it affect your work?
>
> Why, it takes the teachers' time.
>
> Male, 8th grade.

> Can you recall whether you were doing better, worse, or about the same in your school work when you were going to a school that was all white?
>
> Better.
>
> What do you think has happened?
>
> I have Virginia blood in me. I don't approve of colored at all.
>
> How has that affected your school work?
>
> I can't keep my mind on my work with them sitting near me. Of course, they are human and all that, but they should have a place of their own.
>
> Female, 9th grade

Negro students put the blame on the difficulty of the work and standards of performance that they perceived as being characteristic of unsegregated schools. Thus, in reply to a question relating to the difficulty of school work in desegregated school (Q. 45A), for example, half of the Negro respondents indicated that they considered school work to be harder in the desegregated situation than it was in the segregated one. In addition to the harder school work which was encountered in the desegregated school, a number of Negro students indicated that their anxieties about their relationships with white students and teachers affected their scholastic performance. The following are illustrative:

> How are you getting along with your school work this year as compared to last year? Are you doing better, worse, or about the same?
>
> Worse.
>
> How were you doing last year, very well, well, fairly well, or poorly?
>
> Fairly well.
>
> How do you explain that?
>
> Cause I play more sports. You know integration just started last year ---see I started first three weeks at Dunbar (predominantly Negro). I wish I was back down there now.
>
> Why do you wish you were back down at Dunbar?
>
> So I could play on their teams and I think I could make higher marks.
>
> Why do you think you could make better marks at Dunbar?
>
> Because they mark harder at Roosevelt.
>
> For example:
>
> There's 10 points difference if you get a 60 at Dunbar you get a "D" (that's on the tests) at Roosevelt it's an "F". They mark from 70 at Roosevelt and they take off for every little thing.

another reason why you think you'd get better grades?

I don't know. I just feel uncomfortable up there. I guess I haven't adjusted yet to the teachers not the children. . . I mean to the different way of teaching.

You say a different way of teaching?

The way they don't give you any breaks. If you don't dot your "I's" and cross your "T's" they take off.

Male, 11th grade.

How are you getting along with your school work this year as compared to last year? Are you doing better, worse, or about the same?

Worse.

How do you explain that?

It might be the surroundings. I'm not used to them. Maybe it's the children. . . I feel uncomfortable. When I was at Parkview (formerly all Negro) I never felt like that. I talked to everybody.

Female, 7th grade.

How are you getting along with your school work this year as compared to last year? Are you doing better, worse, or same?

Worse.

How were you doing last year?

Well.

How do you explain that?

Not studying as hard this year. I was fearful when I first entered Roosevelt. Scared I would be in an all white class section; therefore, I put forth an effort to say what was right.

Male, 10th grade.

Four out of every ten white respondents in our group reported that attending a desegregated school has made them less active in school organizations. Here, the actual or potential presence of Negroes in these groups

How come?

But I don't know if that's the reason. There aren't any activities; just language clubs. They wouldn't even have a discussion club and I would want one badly. I don't see how that has anything to do with integration.

Male, 10th grade

As far as you can tell, has going to a mixed school made you more active, less active, or made no difference in your activity in clubs and organizations in school?

Less active.

How come?

There is less school spirit.

Why?

Because compared to most of the other high schools in Washington we have nothing in the way of privileges and freedom. McKinley High is mixed, but they have social clubs. We don't.

Female, 12th grade.

Twenty-six of the thirty Negro students interviewed reported that going to a desegregated school made no difference in their organizational activities at school.

Not only does attendance at a desegregated school, such as the one in which the respondents were enrolled, influence participation in social activities among students, but it appears to affect their popularity as well. Responses to the question on whether attendance at Roosevelt High School has affected popularity indicated that 50% of the white students experienced such a change (Q. 16). In contrast is the fact that two-thirds of the Negro group reported no change in popularity as a result of attending a desegregated school.

to believe that this subtle question of social status as affected by the desegregation process needs considerably more attention than it can be given at this time.

Suffice it to say now that desegregation can increase popularity as well as prohibit it among some white students, as indicated in these remarks:

> Has going to this school made any difference in your popularity at school?
>
> Yes.
>
> How come?
>
> I know more people. I know more Negroes.
>
> More or less popular?
>
> More.
>
> Male, 10th grade

> Has going to this school made any difference in your popularity at school?
>
> Yes, I am more popular.
>
> How come?
>
> You meet a lot of new students at high school, especially Negroes. I have gotten along with them and they like me. We have mutual likings.
>
> Male, 11th grade

A reverse similar phenomenon seems to have occurred in the case of a very small number of Negroes as well:

> Has going to this school made any difference in your popularity?
>
> Yes.
>
> How come?
>
> When I first went to Roosevelt everyone was so friendly and acted nice, and I just started meeting them (white) and it has continued.
>
> Male, 10th grade, Negro

Has going to this school made any difference in your popularity at school?

Yes.

How come?

I am more popular now than I was because I met more people. I met friends who introduce me to other friends. This didn't happen much at the other school.

Male, 10th grade

5. Desegregation and the Emergence of New Behavioral Problems

Although school officials have reported that desegregation has produced a large number of what they call adjustment problems, our data indicate that desegregation per se has very little to do with the emergence of "large numbers" of new behavioral problems (i.e., those problems calling for remedial or disciplinary attention).

Eighteen of the 70 white students queried indicated that they had "gotten into trouble" at school during the semester preceding our inquiry (Qs. 33-34). However, when those students were asked "Has going to a desegregated school had anything to do with your getting into these troubles?", only three answered in the affirmative.

A somewhat different, but hardly conclusive situation seems to apply to Negro students. Eight of the thirty Negro respondents said they had gotten into difficulty at school. Two of the eight reporting difficulties indicated that desegregation had something to do with them. While there are too few Negro cases on which to base a judgment, it seems interesting to speculate on whether there is a tendency for desegregation-related behavioral problems to emerge among Negroes more frequently than among whites. It is hoped that more intensive analysis of these exploratory data will shed light on the problem.

5. Desegregation and General Satisfaction with School

Generally speaking the majority of white students (three quarters of the group) reported that they were less satisfied attending a desegregated school than they were at a segregated one (Q. 43). On the other hand, more than half the Negro students claimed to be more satisfied in the desegregated situation than in the segregated one.

On the whole, white students felt their dissatisfaction to stem from the fact that Negroes were present in school and that such presence curtailed the amount of activity which had been possible in that particular school prior to desegregation. The change in the status quo brought on by desegregation was viewed primarily in unfavorable terms.

> In general, would you say you are more satisfied, or less with going to a mixed school as compared to an all white school?
>
> Less.
>
> Why is that?
>
> All the social events stopped. School sponsorship of practically everything in the school doesn't support activities now. They've put restrictions on things you can do.
>
> I just don't like them (Negroes) around.
>
> Male, 12th grade
>
> In general, would you say you are more satisfied, or less satisfied with going to a mixed school as compared to an all white school?
>
> Less
>
> Why is that?
>
> Well, there is more crowd, they act rougher. It has changed the school a lot. The teachers said they can't leave things out. Everything must be locked up. We don't have social life or activities.
>
> Male, 9th grade

> In general would you say you are more satisfied, or less satisfied with going to a mixed school as compared to an all white (Negro) school?
>
> less
>
> Why is that?
>
> Some of the colored children are not very nice. I think there are more colored than white. (Not nice?) They do not have very nice manners or language, always starting fights.
>
> Female, 10th grade

The data strongly support the observation that dissatisfaction with desegregated schools among white students is related to racial feelings. For example, among the 53 white students who indicated less satisfaction with desegregated education than with segregated schooling:

39 were born in the South

23 of the individuals' fathers were born in the South

19 (the largest single group) were scored as having "moderate" social distance attitudes; 11 were scored as "high" and 3 as "very high".

24 disliked the idea when they first learned they would be attending a desegregated school.

For the Negro students the opportunities for getting a better education apparently is enough to make for more satisfaction with desegregated schools than with segregated education.

> In general would you say you are more satisfied or less satisfied with going to a mixed school as compared to an all-Negro school?
>
> More satisfied.
>
> Why is that?

> There's a better chance to learn more and get a better job coming from a school with a good reputation.
>
> Female, 10th grade, Negro
>
> In general would you say you are more satisfied, or less satisfied with going to a mixed school as compared to an all-Negro school?
>
> More.
>
> Why is that?
>
> At colored schools you had more dances. At this school you learn more. I feel in the end this will be more important.
>
> Male, 10th grade, Negro.

A small number of Negro respondents indicated that experience in desegregated schools affords the opportunity for developing better interpersonal relationships with whites, and therefore feel more satisfied in the desegregated environment than in the segregated one.

Significant Developments Relating to the Current Study

The conduct of the current study of some aspects of school desegregation in Washington has led to the participation of the directors of the study (Bower, Walker and Mandelsohn) in a number of related activities. Because of the interest and also knowledge gained in the process of conducting this study, the directors have been called upon (1) to participate in meetings of professional societies interested in research on the problem of desegregation and integration; (2) to provide consultant services to groups concerned with various problems incident to implementing plans of desegregation; and (3) to prepare research papers on some aspects of this problem. These activities of the project directors include the following:

(1) The following papers were read before professional societies:

(a) Bower and Walker, "The First Impact of School Desegregation in Washington, D. C." - presented before the Society for the Study of Social Problems. Sept. 1955.

(b) Walker and Bower, "The Merger of the White and Negro School System in Washington, D. C., presented before The American Sociological Society, Sept. 1955.

(c) Mandelsohn, "Socio-Psychological Reactions to Desegregation" - presented before joint meeting of Washington Chapters, American Sociological Society - AAPOR, January, 1956.

(2) Bower and Walker are currently consultants on racial integration for the Columbia Heights Boys Club of the All Souls' Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C.

(3) Walker and Bower participated in a workshop on integration covering a period of eight weeks, involving about two hundred Washington School Teachers.

The workshop was under the direction of Dr. Fritz Redl.

(4) Walker is currently a consultant to the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation in the South.

(5) Mandelsohn, project research associate, has received a grant from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues to study social psychological factors involved in

participation of students in the Washington School strikes which occurred during the first month of desegregation.

(6) The project directors have been invited to conduct a panel on desegregation at the national meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. This panel will be devoted specifically to the data on some of the emotional aspects of student adjustment to desegregation involving adjustment mechanisms, anxiety, and self-image, that have emerged from the present exploratory study.

Plans for the Future

A. Completion of the intensive interviews with white and Negro students in order to obtain a total of 250 cases.

B. Coding and processing of schedules.

C. Detailed analyses of the 250 cases to include cross-tabulations of items.

D. Preparation of report.

APPENDIX A

Serial No:_____
BSSR: 528
December 1955

BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
Student Activity Study
Cover Sheet

1. Is there anyone in this home who goes to either McFarland Junior High School or to Roosevelt High School:

_____Yes* (Ask A) _____No

*A. May I speak with him or her?

____Student was at home _____Student was not at home, but is usually there on

_____

2. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS AND ANY ADOLESCENTS ANSWERING DOOR, REGARDLESS OF SCHOOL ATTENDED: Do you happen to know any students who go to McFarland Junior High School or Roosevelt High School? I would like to speak to them as well.

NAMES	Addresses
_____	
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

3. Address of interview: _____ Apt.No. _____

4. Completion:____No. respondents available ____Interview was refused

____Interview was completed ____Interview began: was then terminated by respondent

5. Date of Interview: _____

6. Signature of Interviewer: _____

7. Time spent on actual interview: _____

11-2-55
CARD B

BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
The American University
Washington 16, D. C.

STUDENT ACTIVITY STUDY

1. How active are you in sports at school? ___Very active* ___Pretty act

___Not active at all?**

*IF ACTIVE (Ask A)

*A. Are you on any of the school teams? ___Yes (Ask 1) ___No (Skip

1. Are you captain or co-Captain of any team at school? ___Yes ___

**IF NOT ACTIVE (Ask D)

**D. Is there any particular reason for your not taking part in school

---

2. How active are you in sports outside of school? ___Very active

___Pretty active ___Not active at all.* (Ask A)

*A. IF NOT ACTIVE: Is there any particular reason for your not taking part in sports outside of school?

3. Do you belong to any clubs, organizations, publications or fraternities (sororities) at school, or do you prefer not to join in such activities?

___Yes* (Ask A) ___No (Skip to Q. 7)

*A. Please tell me the names of these organizations.

(1) _____ (4)_____

(2) _____ (5) _____

(3) _____ (6) _____

---

4. How active are you in these groups?

A. In which groups are you an officer? 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; All; __ None

B. In which are you pretty active, but not an officer? 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; All; ____None

C. In which are you just a member? 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; All; ___None

---

5. Are there any Negroes (whites) in any of these clubs? ___No ___Yes;

Which ones? 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; All.

---

6. Which one of these organizations do you like best? 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6;

A. What is its purpose?

B. When did you join this particular group?

___This term ___Last year ___Before last year

C. Why did you join this particular organization?

7. IF NOT ACTIVE IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES:

Is there any particular reason why you prefer not to join any of the student groups at school:

---

8. Do you belong to any clubs, organizations, or fraternities outside of school? ___Yes* (Ask A, B, C) ___No (Skip to Q. 9)

*A. How many ____.

*B. How active are you in these groups? Are you an Officer? Pretty active, but not an officer? Or are you just a Member?

___Officer ___Pretty active ___Just a Member

*C. Do any of these groups have both white and Negro Members?

____Yes ____No

9. What do you usually do in your spare time after school?

1___ Go home and just hang around

2___ Go home and read or study

3___ Hang around with my friends at one of their homes

4___ Work at a job to earn some money

5___ Play sports or games at school

6___ Go to a "Y", a community center, or some other recreational center

7___ Go to a music or dancing school

8___ Go to a religious school

9___ Just hang around with my friends at some soda fountain or some other place

0___ Other (Specify)

---

10. Are you in the habit of going around with a certain crowd of close friends who get together fairly often, or do you prefer to keep pretty much to yourself or your family?

___Goes around with crowd* ___Prefers to keep to self (Skip to Q. 11)

*A. How many boys are there in this group? ___
*B. How many girls? ___ Entire group _____
*C. How many whites? ___ Entire group_____
*D. How many Negroes? ___ Entire group _____
*E. When did you join this particular group?
____This year ___Last year ____ ___Two years ago ___
____Before that
*F. How many Negro (White) kids have come into your crowd since you joined? ___ None ___
*G. How many kids have dropped out since you became part of this crowd?
____** None ___
**IF ANY DROPPED OUT, ASK:
1. What made them leave?

*H. What do you usually do in this group?

IF NOT MEMBER OF CLIQUE, ASK:

11. Do you have any special reasons for not going around with a certain crowd of close friends?

---

12. How many really close friends do you have?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 More than 10.

---

13. Would you like to have more friends than you have now? ___Yes ___No

---

14. In the crowd you go around with, or when you are with your friends, do you usually suggest things to do, or do you usually go along with what the other kids decide? ____Makes suggestions* (Ask A)
____Goes along with others** (Ask B)

*A. Are your suggestions usually taken seriously? ___Yes ___No

IF GOES ALONG WITH OTHERS:

**B. Why do you usually go along with the others?

15. As far as you know, has your crowd or close friends ever done anything of which you disapproved or which you did not like? ___Yes* (Ask A) ___No** (Ask B)

*A. Tell me about it:

**B. Suppose these friends of yours were planning to do something you did not like or disapproved of, what would you do?

---

16. Would you describe yourself as being one of the more popular students at school; as being farily popular, but not one of the most popular; or not especially popular?

____More popular ____Fairly popular ____Not especially popul

A. Has going to this school made any difference in your popularity at school?

____No ____Yes* (Ask 1)

*1. How come?

B. How many of the really popular students at school do you know to speak to?

____None ____

17. When it comes to meeting people you have never seen before, do you generally feel comfortable or uncomfortable?

____Comfortable ____Uncomfortable* (Ask A and B)

*A. How come?

*B. What would it take to make you feel more comfortable in such situations?

---

18. In general, would you say that most of the time you are in high spirits, good spirits, low spirits, or very low spirits?

____High ____Good ____Low ____Very low

---

19. Have you ever had long periods of time when you couldn't take care of thing because you just could not get going? ____Yes ____No

---

20. Do you feel weak all over much of the time ____Yes ____No

---

21. When do you feel happiest, when you are by yourself, when are at home with your family, or when you are with your friends?

____By self ____At home ____With friends

22. Which of the following describe you as you are most of the time, some of the time, or hardly ever at all?

	(1) Most of the time	(2) Some of the time	(3) Hardly ever
A. Happy	___	___	___
B. Cooperative; easy to get along with	___	___	___
C. Sensitive or easily hurt	___	___	___
D. Well-liked	___	___	___
E. Obedient	___	___	___
F. Unfriendly	___	___	___
G. Shy or timid	___	___	___
H. Difficult to get along with	___	___	___
I. Afraid	___	___	___
J. Worried about yourself	___	___	___
K. Lonely	___	___	___

23. How do you get along with your parents: ___Very well? ___Well?

___Not so well?* (Ask A)

*A. How come?

24. Which of the following statements describe your experiences at home most of the time, some of the time, or hardly ever at all?

	(1) Most of the time	(2) Some of the time	(3) Hardly ever
A. My parents are firm and strict in the way they handle me	___	___	___
B. My parents ask for my opinions about things that are important to my family	___	___	___
C. My parents let me go around with anybody I want to	___	___	___
D. My parents expect me to behave like they want me to, and not like my friends or teachers want me to	___	___	___

25. Would you say that you like school work very much, fairly much, or hardly at all?

___Very much ___Fairly much ___Hardly at all

26. How are you getting along with your school work this year as compared to last year? Are you doing better, worse, or about the same?

___Better* (Ask A) ___Worse* (Ask A) ___About the same: How were you doing last year, very well, well, fairly well, or poorly?

*A. How do you explain that?

---

27. Can you recall whether you were doing better, worse, or about the same in your school work when you were going to a school that was all white (all Negro)?

___Better* (Ask A) ___Worse* (Ask A) ___Same: How did you do then, very well, well, fairly well, or poorly?

*A. What do you think has happened?

---

28. Would you describe yourself as a superior student___(Skip to Q. 29); a student that is average*___(Ask A); or a student that is below average___?* (Ask A)

*A. Do you think that you are doing as well as you possibly can in your school work, or do you feel that there are certain things that are keeping you back from doing well?
___Doing well (Skip to Q. 29) ___Not able to do best** (Ask 1,2,3)

**1. What sort of things are keeping you back?

**2. When did they first begin to bother you?

**3. What are you planning to do about them?

29. How are you getting along with your teachers this term?

___Very well? ___Well? ___or not so well*? (Ask A)

*A. What's the trouble?

---

30. Do you have a favorite teacher? ___Yes* (Ask A) ___No

*A. What is she like? (___Negro ___white)

---

31. How many Negro (white) teachers do you have this term? Number___*

(If any, ask A and B) None___* (Ask C)

*A. IF ANY: How do you feel about having Negro (white) teachers?

___Doesn't mind

*B. IF ANY: How do the other students in the class feel about having Negro (white) teachers?

___Don't mind

*C. IF NONE: How <u>would</u> you feel about having Negro (white) teachers?

___Would mind ___Wouldn't mind

32. Has going to a school with both white and Negro students made any difference in how you are getting along with your teachers? ___No ___Yes (Ask A)

*A. How come?

---

33. Have you gotten into any trouble at school this term? ___Yes* (Ask A)

___No

*A. IF YES: What was it all about?

---

34. What about before this term, would you say that you got into trouble often, once in a while, or never at all?

___Often* (Ask A) ___Once in a while* (Ask A) ___Never (Skip to Q. 36)

*A. How come?

---

35. IF RESPONDENT INDICATES GETTING INTO TROUBLE AT ALL IN EITHER Q. 33 or Q. 34: Has going to a desegregated school had anything to do with your getting into these troubles? ___No ___Yes* (Ask A)

*A. How come?

36. How do you get along with the other students in your classes:

___Very well? ___Well? or ___Not so well?* (Ask A)

*A. Why is that?

---

37. During the past couple of months about how many Negro (white) persons around your own age did you personally come in contact and talk with?

___* (If any, ask A and B) ___None (Skip to Q. 38)

*A. IF ANY: In what connection did you come in contact with these Negro (white) persons? Was it in class, in a game, in a club, or what?

___Class ___Game ___Club ___Cafeteria Other (Specify)_____

*B. IF MADE OTHER RACE CONTACTS: How many of these Negro (or white) individuals do you consider: ___as best friends ___as good friends, but not best friends ___as just persons you know to speak to

---

38. In your contacts with Negro (white) persons generally, do you usually feel as free and easy as you would with others? ___Yes ___No* (Ask A)

*A. Why not?

39. Have you ever done something social like going to the movies or a sports event, or visiting each other's homes with a Negro (white) person your own age? ___Yes ___No* (Ask A)

*A. How come?

---

40. How do you usually behave when you are with Negro (white) persons?

___Mostly like your parents would want you to?

___Mostly like your teachers would want you to? or,

___Mostly like your friends would want you to?

---

41. Do you think you would ever find it a little uncomfortable:

	Yes	No
A. To have a Negro (white) family living next door to you?	___	___
B. To have Negroes (white persons) in the same club or on the same team as you?	___	___
C. To go to a party or dance and find that most of the people are Negro (white)?	___	___
D. To eat at the same table with a Negro (white person)?	___	___

---

42. In thinking of the closest contact your mother or father has with someone who is Negro (white), would you say that they consider this Negro (white) person to be:

___Among their best friends

___A good friend but not among their best

___Don't know

___Just someone they know to speak to

43. In general would you say you are more satisfied or less satisfied with going to a mixed school as compared to an all white (or Negro) school?

___More* (Ask A) ___Less* (Ask A) ___About the same: How satisfied were you last year?

___Very ___Just satisfied ___Dissatisfied

*A. Why is that?

---

44. In thinking back to when you first learned that you would be going to a desegregated school, how did you feel about it then?

___Liked the idea ___Disliked the idea ___Didn't mind

___Looked forward; no anxieties ___Had anxieties, apprehension

---

45. Did you expect that going to a mixed school would be different from going to a segregated school? ___Yes* (Ask A and B) ___No (Skip to Q. 46)

*A. In what ways did you expect it to be different?

*B. Did any of the differences that you expected actually take place?

___No ___Yes* (Ask 1)

*1. Tell me about it.

46. Can you recall how your parents first felt about your going to a mixed school?

___Liked the idea ___Disliked the idea ___Didn't mind

___Didn't express feeling ___Don't know

Other:

A. What sort of advice did they give you?

___Keep to yourself ___Try to get along with everybody

___Stay out of trouble ___Didn't give any advice

Other:

B. How do your parents feel about it now?

___Like it ___Dislike it ___Don't mind

___Don't express feeling ___Don't know

Other:

1. IF OPINION CHANGED: What do you think made them change?

---

47. How did your friends feel about going to a desegregated school?

___Liked the idea ___Disliked the idea ___Didn't mind

___Didn't express feeling ___Don't know

Other:

A. What was said in your discussions about going to a desegregated school?

B. How do your friends feel about it now?

___Like it ___Dislike it ___Don't mind

___Don't express feeling ___Don't know

Other:

1. IF OPINION CHANGED: What do you think made them change?

48. Now that you have been going to a desegrated school:

A. Do you find your school work harder, easier, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?

___Harder*(Ask 1) ___Easier*(Ask 1) ___About the same

*1. Why is that?

B. Do you find that making friends is harder, easier, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?

___Harder* (Ask 1) ___Easier* (Ask 1) ___About the same

*1. Why is that?

C. Do you feel generally more comfortable, less comfortable, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?

___More comfortable* (Ask 1) ___Less Comfortable* (Ask 1) ___About the same

*1. Why is that?

D. Do you feel that getting along with all sorts of people is easier, harder, or about the same as when you went to a segregated school?

___Harder* (Ask 1) ___Easier* (Ask 1) ___About the same

*1. Why is that?

49. As far as you can tell, has going to a mixed school made you more active, less active, or made no difference in your activity in clubs and organizations in school:

___More active* (Ask 1) ___Less active* (Ask 1) ___No difference

*1. How come?

A. How about your club activities outside of school?

___More active* (Ask 1) ___Less active* (Ask 1) ___No difference

*1. How come?

---

50. Has going to a desegrated school made any difference in how active you are in sports either at school or outside of school? ___Yes*(Ask A) ___No

*A. What kind of difference?

---

51. What do you plan to do after you are finished with school?

A. As far as you know, has going to a desegrated school had any effect on these plans? ___Yes* (Ask 1) ___No

*1. What sort of effects?

---

52. Do you think that you will finish high school ___Yes ___No* (Ask A)

*A. Why is that?

53. If someone you know had the chance of going either to a segregated school or to a mixed one, what would you suggest that he do?

___Go to segregated* (Ask A) ___Go to desegrated* (Ask A)

*A. Why?

---

54. And now a final question: could you please tell me now whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree	Can't Decide
A. Prison is too good for certain types of criminals. They should be publicly whipped or worse.	___	___	___
B. There are two kinds of people in the world; the weak and the strong.	___	___	___
C. Laws that try to change our customs, or the ways the American people are used to behaving cannot possibly work.	___	___	___

INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

1. Respondent's tension level at beginning of interview:

   ___Nervous ___Sporadic nervous ___Mostly relaxed

2. Tension level at close of interview:

   ___Nervous ___Sporadic nervous ___Mostly relaxed

3. Distractions during interview: ___Much ___Some ___None

4. Respondent's attitude" ___Hostile ___Suspicious ___Friendly ___Solicitous

5. Response: ___Inappropriate, irrelevant, rambling ___Dull ___Alert

   ___Overtalkative (appropriate content) ___Facetious

6. Affect or mood: ___Noticeably depressed ___Apathetic ___Normal

   ___Cheerful ___Shy; withdrawn

7. Alertness, intelligence: ___Dull ___Slow ___Average ___Above average

8. Appearance: ___Sloppy ___Untidy ___Neat ___Overly neat

9. Physical defects: ___Stutter ___Muscular tic ___Cosmetic deformity

   ___Memory difficulty ___Gross physical difficulty

   Other:

BACKGROUND DATA

And now, if I may, I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

1. Sex
   -1___Male
   -2___Female

---

2. Race
   -1___White
   -2___Negro
   -3___Other

---

3. May I ask how old you are?

-1___Below 11 years	-6___15
-2___11	-7___16
-3___12	-8___17
-4___13	-9___18
-5___14	-0___Over 18

---

4. What grade are you in?

-1___7th	-3___9th	-5___11th
-2___8th	-4___10th	-6___12th

A. Would you say that:

-7___Most of the students in your school are white?
-8___Negro?
-9___Or are there about as many whites as Negroes at your school?

---

5. Last term did you receive:

-1___Mostly As and Bs?
-2___Mostly Bs and Cs?
-3___Mostly Cs and Ds?
-4___Some Fs?

___Graded by "Satisfactory"
___By "Unsatisfactory"

6. What school in the District of Columbia did you go to in 1954**

_____

A. Was the student body of this school:

-1___Mostly white
-2___Mostly Negro, or was it
-3___Made up of large numbers of both whites and Negroes

**B. IF RESPONDENT DID NOT GO TO SCHOOL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN 1954, CHECK THIS SPACE -0___.

In what city did you go to school in 1954?

_____

Was this school segregated?

-8___Yes
-9___No

---

7. Including yourself, how many people live in your home:

_____

---

8. With whom do you live at home?

-1___With both parents only
-2___With both parents and brothers and sisters
-3___With mother (and either brothers or sisters or not)**
**A. What has happened to father?
_____
-4___With father (and either brothers or sisters or not)**
**A. What has happened to mother?
_____
-5___With other relatives
-6___With people who are not related

9. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

_____

---

10. How many brothers and sisters do you have who:

A. Go to elementary school in Washington?
-1_____

B. Go to junior high school in Washington?
-2_____

C. Go to senior high school in Washington?
-3_____

---

11. Does your family own this home, or does it rent it?

-1___Owns home
-2___Rents house
-3___Rents apartment

---

12. How many bedrooms are there in your home?

_____

---

13. Does your family own an automobile?

-1___No
-2___Yes ** (Ask A)

**A. Is there more than one automobile in your immediate family?
-3___Yes
-4___No

---

14. What newspapers usually come into your home? **

_____

_____

**A. Check here if none -0___

---

15. What magazines usually come into your home?**

_____

_____

**
A. Check here if none -0_____

---

16. Is there a TV set in your home that is working?

-1___Yes
-2___No

---

17. How many hours a day do you usually spend watching television? _____

(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT WATCH TV AT ALL SKIP TO QUESTION 21)

---

18. If respondent watches television at all: What are your TWO favorite programs?

_____

_____

_____

---

19. If respondent watches television at all: Do you usually select the programs you watch, or do your parents make the selections?

-1___I select the programs I watch
-2___My parents select the programs I watch.

---

20. If respondent watches television at all: Do you usually watch it alone, with your family, or with your friends?
-1___Alone
-2___With my family
-3___With my friends

---

2. Does your family have a favorite news commentator to whom they listen frequently on radio? [If so] Who is he?**

_____

**A. If not check here -0___

22. Does your family have a favorite news commentator whom they watch frequently on television? [If so] Who is he?**

_____

**A. If not, check here -0___

23. Where were you born?

_____

24. Where was your father born?

_____

25. Where was your mother born?

_____

26. How long has your family lived in Washington, D.C.?

-1___All their lives (Skip to Q.26)
-2___Five years or less
-3___Six to ten years
-4___Ten to fifteen years
-5___Fifteen years or more

27. If family has not lived in Washington all their lives: Where did they live before coming here?

_____

28. What was the last grade (or year) that you father completed in school?

-1___0 to 4 years
-2___5 to 6 years
-3___7 to 8 years
-4___9 to 11 years
-5___12 years
-6___1 to 3 years college
-7___4 or more years college

29. What kind of work does your father do?

_____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____

30. What kind of work does your mother do?

_____

31. Would you mind telling me what the total income of your family is each week?

-1___Less than $50
-2___Between $50 and $74
-3___Between $75 and $99
-4___Between $100 and $149
-5___Between $150 and $174
-6___$175 or over

32. Does anyone in your immediate family belong to a labor union?

-1___Yes
-2___No

33. What religion or religious denomination do you belong to?*

_____

*IF PROTESTANT - DENOMINATION

_____

34. What religion or religious denomination does your father belong to?

_____

35. During the past year, how often did you attend religious services?

-1___Every week you could
-2___Once or twice a month
-3___Mostly on religious holidays
-4___Hardly ever

36. Do both Negroes and Whites go to your place of worship?

-1___Whites only
-2___Negroes only
-3___Both Whites and Negroes

37. Has your religious leader spoken for or against allowing desegregation in the public schools?

-1___For
-2___Against
-3___Has not spoken about it
-4___I don't know

38. What course are you taking or planning to take in high school?

_____